

Nigeria Looks For Independence In Two Years

BEHIND closed doors at Lancaster House in London, top African political leaders from Nigeria are now meeting with Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd to map out a new constitution. If the conference goes according to plan, it will probably mean that Nigeria, by far the most populous country in Africa, will be granted complete independence from Great Britain sometime in 1959. Nigeria, a fist-shaped 373,250 square mile federation roughly trisected by the Niger and Benue Rivers, is an important world producer of palm kernels, peanuts and cocoa. She has an estimated population of 32,500,000 and is Britain's largest dependency.

The Issues

By WINIFRED ARMSTRONG
Special Correspondent

LAGOS, Nigeria—It is impossible to say that the fate of a nation is decided at one particular moment. But there are moments when the balance is heavy, and one decision made will direct the course of many others. The stake for Nigeria is great at this month's Constitutional Conference in London. When she shall attain independence, what kind of constitution she will have, if she will be a federation of states, and if so, how many and what relation they will have to the central government—the whole basis for central and state government powers and services will be decided.

Everyone leaving Nigeria for the London Conference is agreed on one thing: independence in 1959. There is little unanimity about anything else. Attention is on the future: with the Conference at hand there seems little bitterness over its postponement for many months caused by Eastern Prime Minister Azikiwe's well-publicized banking problems.

Attending the Conference are 10 persons from each of the three regions, North, East, and West, and 5 from the British Trust Territory of the Cameroons; the delegates were appointed by the Premiers of each of the regions. Each delegation includes members of the majority party in the region, as well as one or more representatives of mi-

(See NIGERIA, Page Four)

Her chances for full self-rule were given a big boost March 26 in the Federal House of Representatives when Malam Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the "silver-voice of the North" and House leader of the Northern People's Congress, quietly acknowledged that Nigeria had "come of age" and said his party "saw no reason" why 1959 should not be accepted as the date for independence. African law-makers greeted the announcement with thunderous applause, for it meant that largely Moslem Northern Nigeria, long reluctant to risk domination by Nigeria's more advanced southern coastal regions, was now willing to compromise.

A few minutes earlier, Chief Akintola, a Western region Action Group man, had introduced a motion calling for independence in 1957. Britain, he said, had succeeded in "humanizing imperialism," had created Nigeria out of people who might otherwise have remained warring groups, but had also "whetted our appetites for freedom." Overseas representation was no insuperable problem, Akintola quipped; they even had a "bearded intellectual" for Moscow, he said, in the shape of a fellow legislator, Mr. Agwuna, whose name they could easily change into Agwunavsky. And in London, he added, it was merely a matter of moving files from the Colonial office to the Commonwealth Relations Office. However, at the suggestion of Mr. Jaja Wachuka, an NCNC man from the Eastern region, Akintola cheerfully amended his motion to read 1959, and the stage was set for agreement. Nigeria's lawmakers, recalling how in 1953 the last motion of this kind was defeated by Northern votes and resulted

(See CONFERENCE, Page Five)

MAP shows geopolitical impact of Nigerian independence on Africa, particularly French areas. Darkened areas show states now sovereign.



Trusteeship Council Due to Tackle Tanganyika Issues

UNITED NATIONS

PRESSED by a number of United Nations members to speed up political advance in the UN Trust Territory of Tanganyika, Britain will depend on Sir Andrew Cohen, a former colonial governor with a reputation for farsightedness and liberalism, to outline the British position next month at the annual discussion of Tanganyika in the Trusteeship Council.

Assuming for the first time his new assignment as leader of the British delegation to the Trusteeship Council, Sir Andrew is expected to face heavy questioning as the result of a resolution passed in the General Assembly February 26 recommending that Britain make a policy statement on her intention to establish a democratic state in Tanganyika — largest area under British administration on the east coast of Africa.

Sir Andrew will very likely be called on to explain why some of the steps toward African political responsibility instituted by him during his recent governorship of neighboring Uganda can not now be taken in Tanganyika. There is some speculation in the UN that Cohen, who is credited with much of the post-war liberalization of British colonial policies, including the decision to grant independence to Ghana, may advance some new thoughts about British policy on the Tanganyika question.

It was originally expected that Britain's case would be presented personally by the Tanganyika Governor, Sir Edward Twining, but it was learned this month that Governor Twining probably will not be present. J. Fletcher-Cooke, a Tanganyika official, will be the territory's special representative, but, in the words of a British source, Sir Andrew will be "leading the band." Discussions are expected to begin around June 11.

One point expected to be brought out by anti-colonial factions in next month's discussion is that Julius K. Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika

U.S. Does About-Face on Togoland, Opposes Own Resolution

UNITED NATIONS

The United States did an awkward flip-flop this month on a UN Trusteeship Council resolution calling for free elections in French Togoland.

Last month, the U. S. Trusteeship Council delegation in New York, under the chairmanship of Mason Sears, co-sponsored the resolution with India. This month, the U. S. voted against its own motion. UN pundits said it could hardly be surpassed as a way to take both sides on the colonial question.

A source close to the delegation admitted that "some wires got crossed" and it seemed obvious in New York that Washington had learned of the motion and put its foot down after the delegation had already committed itself. Officially, however, the U. S. adopted the position this month that it would prefer to postpone the vote until after a visiting mission gets back from Togoland with a report on conditions there. But Italy deserted the administering bloc on the postponement vote, and on May 7 it was defeated 7-6 with China abstaining. The substantive vote on the resolution followed; it, too was defeated, 6-6 with two abstentions, the U. S. negative swinging the balance.

The resolution recommended election at an early date of a new legislative assembly in the UN Trust Territory, under adult suffrage and with guarantees of free political organization, assembly, speech and movement for all inhabitants.

Members of Togoland's legislative assembly have not stood for election since France proclaimed the territory an autonomous republic last fall. Voting took place at that time, but it was on the question of whether Togoland, on the west coast of Africa, should remain a UN trusteeship or be given political reforms under a new French status. Partly because independence was not one of the choices, the UN has not yet accepted France's incorporation of the territory, but deferred the question for a year by sending the mission over to study conditions. France is not said to welcome new elections at the present time.

African National Union, was banned by the Tanganyika government from making any more "inflammatory" speeches. Nyerere's views were singled out and called to Britain's attention in the February General Assembly resolution.

The resolution was passed 47-15 with 11 absentions. It took note of Nyerere's appearance before the UN Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee and embodied certain of his key demands. Several veteran UN observers said they believed the resolution was without precedent in the attention it gave to a

single individual.

(The United States opposed the resolution, ostensibly objecting to the imputation that Britain did not herself wish to develop the territory democratically and to the unusual deference paid to the views of a single individual.)

Two weeks before the resolution was passed, Governor Twining's administration banned Nyerere from making speeches in the port area around Tanga in the north. Nyerere reportedly has spoken in Tanganyika since this time, but several branches of his organization were recently closed down by the Government.

European sources in Tanganyika say Nyerere was publicly silenced after he resorted to "emotional appeal" and attempted to undermine respect for the administration in speaking before thousands of Africans at Dar es Salaam, the territory's capital, after his return in January from a trip to Britain and the United States.

Nyerere retorted that respect for au-



thority is engrained in the African, but "applauding the mistakes of those in authority is the duty only of slaves." In an organizational newsletter called "Sauti ya TANU" (Voice of TANU), he repeated some of his complaints against the Government, one of which centered on the value of American education. Nyerere, a graduate of Edinburgh University, wrote that "Tanganyika is very backward educationally" and that "Government's answer when we demand self-government even in 10 years time is that we are still too backward." It therefore came to him as a "shock" to have Governor Twining imply, Nyerere said, "that we in backward Tanganyika would look down upon degrees obtained in such highly advanced countries as the U. S. A."

Nyerere quoted Governor Twining as saying in effect that some foreign degrees could not be honored in Tanganyika, and that some students who go abroad would be taught nothing but evil and would return to Tanganyika defiant of tribal authority.

"I criticised the Governor on this statement," Nyerere said. "I would have thought that the effort not only of TANU but particularly of Government should be to try and persuade the United States Government to enlarge (its) assistance to us."

(Discussing education in a speech April 30 opening the new Legislative Council, Governor Twining said, however, that "I wish to make it quite clear that Government generally welcomes offers of bursaries by foreign Governments which are made with genuine goodwill.")

Nyerere visited Britain this winter and was provided transportation to the United States by the Maryknoll Fathers, a Catholic order. In visits to New York, Washington, Chicago, Boston, and Lincoln University in Pennsylvania he sought scholarships for the education of other members of his organization. A portion of his transportation within the U.S. was provided by the Institute of African-American Relations with local groups providing accommodation.

In addressing the UN Fourth Committee on December 20, Nyerere

praised Britain for graceful withdrawal in other parts of Africa and the world. But he contended that in plural, or multi-racial, societies like Tanganyika, "British policy has always been the preparation of the white minorities to govern the indigenous majorities." He complained that although Tanganyika's eight million Africans constituted 98 per cent of the population, political power was being balanced among Africans, Asians and Europeans. He called for a declaration by Britain that the country is to be developed as a "democratic" (i.e. primarily African) state. This, he said, would provide Africans with a symbol of hope, which is "the only basis of peaceful and gradual development." Nyerere also asserted that the "tiny island of Zanzibar," under British administration, has "more students studying in the United Kingdom than Tanganyika." He stressed that "we must have educated leadership."

One European farmer in Tanganyika has written to *Africa Special Report*

MAIL BAG

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To the Editor:

"I read with particular interest the article entitled 'Senator Green Sees Need for U.S. Aid in Dependent Africa.' This is quite to the point because the most important desire and aspiration of the African people is political and economic freedom. The recent Ghana independence will definitely add 'pep' to this desire. The present speed of development by the governing powers does not meet this desire.

"If one of the major handicaps for the U.S. in promulgating her program lies in finding trained American technical personnel, would it not be possible to find American-trained African youths who could be employed by the U.S. in the execution of any technical program? I think with American guidance this would be possible."

An African student

describing Nyerere's UN speech as a "masterpiece of studied inaccuracy" and accusing Nyerere of promoting racial discord in Tanganyika. The correspondent asserted that "there is at present no great demand for elections" in Tanganyika, and to insist on elections all over the territory on the basis of universal suffrage would be to play into the hands of the "unscrupulous irresponsible agitator." In this case, he said, the "Government would be failing most seriously in their duty to protect and guide the less advanced of the people under their care." He noted, however, that elections are to be introduced shortly in several districts.

Nyerere claimed in the New York speech that the Government's present franchise proposals "would give the vote to all European adults in the country, to about 80 per cent of the Asian adults, and only a tiny fraction of the Africans."

In his April speech, Governor Twining repeated a 1950 policy statement that self-government for Tanganyika must be based on proper provision for all the main communities, that Africans should be helped forward so that they may take their full part in the political and economic life of the territory, that a Government in which all sections of the people participate requires a state of mutual confidence and harmony, and that until such a state is reached, "Her Majesty's Government should continue to exercise ultimate control."

In his conclusion, he said that those who "deliberately try to cause disharmony or undermine the authority of Government or Native Authorities will be shown up for what they are as the enemies of Tanganyika who will achieve little except slowing down the rate of progress by diverting effort which could be used for better purposes."

Governor Twining also pointed out that two recent resolutions by the United Nations about the timing and direction of constitution advance in the trust territory "were, of course, categorically rejected by Her Majesty's Government," a factor which will undoubtedly be brought out at the Trusteeship Council session next month in New York.



HON. ALHAJI AHMADU, Sarduna of Sokoto and Premier of Northern Nigeria.



HON. CHIEF OBAFEMI AWOLOWO, Premier of Western Nigeria.



HON. NNAMDI AZIKIWE, Premier of Eastern Nigeria—Nigeria Information Photo.

NIGERIA

(Continued from Page One)

nority parties. The leaders of the delegations: Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Premier of Western Nigeria (6,087,000) and head of the Action Group; Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, American-educated (Lincoln University) Premier of the Eastern Region (7,218,000) and head of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons (NCNC); Alhaji Ahmadu, Sarduna of Sokoto, Premier of Northern Nigeria (16,840,000) and leader of the Northern People's Congress; and Dr. E. M. L. Endeley, Leader of Government Business in Southern Cameroons.

Probably the toughest problem facing the London delegation is the question of working out a constitutional system of most benefit to all sections of the country. There now seems little likelihood that Nigeria will be constituted as a centralized, unitary state. At present the country's three regions are in many ways almost autonomous. That these must remain federated, for economic reasons if no other, is clear, despite the occasional threats of secession. However, there has been considerable agitation in each region for division into several states and to form Nigeria as a federation of these states. None of the regional powers—that be is particularly eager to let go any of its territory: they fear losing power, revenue, resources, and prestige. Assuredly, none will let anything go unless the others do.

The groups agitating for statehood are primarily ethnic. The three largest groups in Nigeria are the Hausa (North, mostly Moslem), Ibo (East), and Yoruba (West). There are scores of other ethnic groups, ranging in numbers from a few thousand to over a million. In each of the regions there are pockets or slices of other groups, having different customs, often speak-

ing a different language. Where such an area is large or rich, they are likely to want to have their own state.

Suggested smaller states include: 1. A Mid-west State, including Benin and the delta area. Located in the Western region, it has been promised autonomy. 2. Calabar-Ogoja Rivers area, in the East. 3. Middle Belt State, covering the plateau area around Jos in the North, the center of tin mining. There are rumblings from the Bornu area around Maiduguri in the North, but since this is a large territory, the North is likely to make many concessions to keep separation sentiments placated.

HOGAN 'KID' BASSEY, 125 lb. featherweight champion of the British Empire from Calabar, Nigeria, will meet Cherif Hamia of France this summer in a title fight for the world featherweight championship. Bassey became a contender by beating Miguel Berrios of Puerto Rico last month in a 12-round bout in Washington, D. C.

Once the federation question is settled, other issues facing the Conference will be: 1) division of powers between central and state governments, and between executive, legislative and judicial functions; 2) requisition and allocation of money; 3) education (standards and financing); 4) position of chiefs (at present there is a house of chiefs in the West and North, and since very recently in the East. These have advisory and veto powers, but do little real legislative work); 5) transport—economically an essential matter in Nigeria; 6) welfare and all other functions and services of government; 7) the granting of independence region by region, or as a unified Nigeria in 1959. The Western region has previously stated that it will declare its independence this year. This would create the interesting problem of an independent state within a semi-independent nation. In addition, there has been some question regarding what language(s) should be the lingua

franca of the country. English is taught in the schools, but there is a strong movement to keep the tribal languages alive, and about half the population speak Hausa, the language of the Northern region. A Prime Minister is expected to be appointed as a result of the London Conference. Behind-the-scenes predictions point to the possible appointment of a Deputy Prime Minister from another region, especially if the Prime Minister is from the North and a coalition government is formed. The rivalry between the North and the other two regions is long standing, and must be considered in all political decisions made here. The Eastern and Western regions, which make up the southern half of Nigeria, have a higher standard of education, and therefore a greater number of civil servants in government, than the North, which has twice the population. The hope, though not always the faith, is high here that national unity will replace regional disagreements at the London Conference. Politics to date in Nigeria have been primarily on a personal and regional basis. There are signs that the present political leaders aspire to national position—probably a good portent for the strength of a united federation. If agreement on principle can be reached in London between the Nigerians themselves, the likelihood is that the British will agree to any unified proposals put before them. It is not certain how much agreement has been reached before going, except on 1959 as the target date for independence. Many principles and an infinity of detail must be ironed out before that target is reached. Probably the best solution mentioned to date is to appoint a Constitutional Commission which will have the time and counsel available to work out a constitution on principles agreed upon in London. The hope this month in Nigeria is that this agreement will be achieved.

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news briefs

KENYA--British administration "reluctantly" announced tighter controls on African political meetings May 22 and proposed to tape-record "inflammatory" speeches. African demand for more seats in Legislative Council, backed by Asians, said to be putting Europeans on spot, resulting in Constitutional wrangle...New York Times reports Britain has taken no firm decision to establish a major sea, land and air base in Kenya, but expects to station mobile force of 5,000 troops there, for airlift defense of protectorates in the Middle East.

SOUTH AFRICA--An estimated 4,500 chanting Africans marched on Johannesburg City Hall from the Sophiatown location May 16 protesting a "slave" identity card system and carrying banners reading "We Are Getting Impatient." Reuters said Mayor Max Goodman spent an hour with a six-man deputation from the assemblage. . . African National Congress announced May 15 it will shortly launch a nation-wide boycott of business controlled by members of Nationalist Party. . . South Africa has abolished "God Save the Queen" as an official anthem. . . African riot in Orlando township near Johannesburg May 11th killed two, injured 14; 20 arrested Africans were seized by mob from police. . . 2,000 Witwatersrand faculty and students marched through Johannesburg May 22 protesting Government bill to segregate universities.

TANGANYIKA--A. J. Grattan-Bellew, Tanganyika Chief

Secretary, this month withdrew from the current legislative session the bill calling for the territory's first elections, which had been scheduled to take place in March '58 in 3 or 4 constituencies. The withdrawal came after several African unofficial members of the Legislative Council opposed the bill because it was not territory-wide. They said they would rather have no elections at all. Grattan-Bellew told the members they must accept responsibility for delaying an important constitutional step. . . Governor Twining is proposing appointment of four Africans, one Asian and one European as unofficial assistant ministers, in a plan to introduce the Ministerial system in the trust territory's government.

PEOPLE--**WILSON CLARK FLAKE**, 50-year old career officer from North Carolina, took the oath in Washington this week as first U.S. Ambassador to Ghana. Flake has served in South Africa and was recently Consul General in Rome. . . Also sworn in was **DON CARROLL BLISS**, 59, a career officer formerly connected with the Richards Mission to the Middle East. Bliss replaces John Simonson as Ambassador to Ethiopia. . . **C. VAUGHAN FERGUSON jr.** is slated to head State Department's office of Southern Africa Affairs (below the Sahara), sources say. Just returned after five years as Consul General at Dakar and Tangier, he will replace Fred L. Hadsel, now in London. . . Under a new statute accorded by France, the Legislative Assembly at Yaounde this month chose **ANDRE MARIE MBIDA** as first Premier of the French Cameroons, a UN trust territory. He is regarded as a moderate. . . Married in New York; **KARIUKI K. NJIIRI**, son of Kikuyu chief; to New York girl.



FLAKE

SEMINAR ON TROPICAL AFRICA

Arrangements are now being made for a repeat seminar on Tropical Africa scheduled for July 9-13 at Western Michigan College in Kalamazoo. Designed for those who lead in shaping United States foreign policy opinion, the seminar is conducted to provide facilities for intensive study and analysis of the subject matter available on Tropical Africa.

Seminar invitations are limited to twenty-five, which may include adult educators, directors of citizen councils, newspaper editorial writers, radio and television commentators, clergymen and other members of the public platform and teachers, as well as residents from Africa who are able to speak with personal knowledge of the countries under discussion.

Requests for further information should be directed to Shepherd L. Witman, Director, Residential Seminars on World Affairs, 420 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 6, Pennsylvania.

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CONFERENCE--Continued from Page One.

In a stormy "walk-out" by the East and West, greeted the new unanimity with deafening applause. The magazine "West Africa" described the March 26 session as "the most important event in Nigeria's history since 1900 and, for Africa, scarcely less important than Ghana's independence."

Meeting in Lagos April 16 and 17, Nigeria's three regional premiers, Chief Awolowo, Dr. Azikiwe and the Sardauna of Sokoto, also agreed to the 1959 date for independence and issued a brief non-committal statement claiming a large measure of agreement on constitutional matters. What they touched on was anybody's guess, but some obvious questions they faced were how to create the post of a Federal Prime Minister for Nigeria and who would get the job, how to make him responsible to the people through cabinet and parliament--and whether this would entail country-wide elections, whether to rearrange internal boundaries, how to allocate the country's revenues, and how to go about building a strong civil service and training Nigerians for diplomatic posts, particularly without slighting the North which has fewer trained candidates. The UN will also be involved, in working out arrangements for the western Cameroons, a trust area now tied to Nigeria administratively.

Nigeria, about to get her fourth constitution in ten years, had all these questions and more to wrestle with this month in London in the conference which opened May 23 and is expected to last three weeks.

Britain, already committed to granting self-government to those regions in Nigeria that want it, was expected to go along with the 1959 date, at one stroke reducing by a third the number of dependent peoples under her oversight.



Courtesy Ebony Magazine

African Student Tours Compete with Safaris As Travel Season Nears

FROM winners of sales competitions to PhD's, Americans in growing numbers are making Africa their focal point for overseas travel. Educational groups and commercial agencies are mapping summer tours to fit a variety of interests and pocketbooks, and are hoping for an even better showing than the record 7,000 (1.25 per hundred American travelers) who visited the continent last year.

With transportation facilities improving and new hotels springing up, Africa is becoming increasingly attractive to the seasoned traveler looking for new places to go, agencies report.

East Africa alone is now enjoying an annual tourist trade of \$16 million, compared with \$1½ million a decade ago, and the influx of visitors increases by 42,000 yearly, according to British authorities.

Transportation over and back can cost the U. S. traveler \$1,000 or more, with alternate routes available by way of Europe or direct. In Africa, package tours range from \$51 for a three day hunt near Mt. Kilimanjaro to \$6,000 or \$7,000 for a plush safari complete with bed linen and portable bathtubs.

A significant development this year is the expansion of carefully planned

Ebony Explodes Those Tall Tales

Ebony Magazine took off editorially this month on "The Ten Biggest Lies About Africa." The elephant, said *Ebony*, really has "weak eyes", rhinos are "notoriously stupid," and many Africans, like University of Chicago student Adebisi Otudeko (left) see their first lion behind the bars of an American zoo.

Africa has snow-capped mountains straddling the equator, high plateaus where the uninitiated expects to find jungle. Heat, animals, savages, witchcraft, ignorance, disease, wealth, backwardness and "black man's country" are all misunderstood in the United States, *Ebony* said. Witch doctors are "probably sneaking anti-biotics into their juju kits" while American scientists examine African potions for the secret of their successful cures.

Many Africans buy their ice cream from Good Humor men, sleep between percale sheets and wear western clothes. Illiteracy, placed as high as 90 per cent, is being reduced. Crop yield, however, is "among the lowest in the world and its people the poorest fed." But, said *Ebony*, Africa "just isn't Africa any more" and the "Big Sleep" is over. *Ebony's* conclusion: Negro Americans are finding that the tall tales about the homeland "are not necessarily so."

educational tours, with emphasis on sound preparation and orientation, to lay the groundwork for mutual understanding and "people-to-people" contact.

Two National Education Association tours, specifically planned for teachers and others in the educational field, offer opportunities to meet with local teachers in the areas visited. A unique seven-day orientation program in Kano and Lagos, Nigeria, arranged in co-operation with the Council on Student Travel, will prepare the travelers for the stops that follow in Nigeria, Ghana, the Belgian Congo, Kenya, Uganda, and Egypt. Price of the package is \$2195. Arrangements are being handled by NEA's Division of Travel Service in Washington, D. C.

For students, Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, grants six academic credits for a six week Africa tour that covers points in East, Central, and South Africa including a visit to a "witch-doctor's shop. Amsterdam, Rome and Paris are also in the package which costs \$2155. Miss Gwendolyn Carter at Smith College is arranging a summer-long journey through Africa with a steamer trip on Lake Victoria, at an overall cost of \$2500 per student.

The Putney (Vermont) Experiment in International Living extends its program to Africa this summer with six weeks in Nigeria. After an orientation period in London and Kano, the group of ten will live with African

families for three weeks in Lagos and Ibadan, followed by 19 days of informal travel through Nigeria accompanied by Nigerian students. Special foundation assistance is reducing the cost, including transportation, to \$970.

Even the stay-at-home may find himself in Africa. Timebuyers on Station KYA in San Francisco can win a Great White Hunter two-week trip to Africa complete with safari by simply filling out a form, the stub of which is flown to New York's Waldorf-Astoria where the winning number will be drawn from an African drum on June 24. Admiral Corporation's "Sales Safari", an incentive to salesmen of Admiral appliances, divided the U. S. into sales or "hunting" districts with hunting licenses supplied for each distributor salesman signed by the "Chief Game Commissioner" at headquarters in Chicago. The winners flew to Africa and picked up their hunting licenses for a three week safari.

Agencies which can provide additional information about African travel or specific tour packages include the following: Council on Student Travel, 179 Broadway, New York 7, N. Y.; Educational Travel, Inc., U. S. National Student Association, 701 Seventh Ave., New York 36, N. Y.; Thos. Cook & Son, 587 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; Brownell Tours, Brownell Building, Birmingham, Alabama; and Students International Travel Association, 545 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

U. S.—Africa Trade Up; Patterns Vary

United States trade with Africa continues to grow, but the pattern is irregular. It is difficult to state that overall trade increased by a definite percentage, or that past trends indicate that 1957 will be a banner year in specific trade areas.

Nonetheless, U. S. Department of Commerce statistics show that American exports to Africa steadily rose from a value of \$504 million in 1953 to \$570 million in 1954, to \$590 million in 1955 and \$654 million last year.

During the same period imports from Africa rose from \$593 million in 1953 to \$605 million in 1954 to \$619 million in 1955, then dropped off to \$596 million last year. A major factor in the reduced value of 1956 exports to the U. S. was a decline in the value

of mineral imports from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Trade patterns are such that Egypt and the Sudan are linked more with the Near East than with Africa, and trade statistics are grouped accordingly in many instances. When Egypt and the Sudan are removed from the statistics, the Union of South Africa is shown as importer of 45 per cent to 55 per cent of the value of U. S. exports to Africa. In 1955 the Union, with its large urban-industrial population, imported \$260.6 million worth of American goods and last year it imported \$261.3 million worth.

Africa's exports to the United States, predominantly raw materials, follow a different design, subject to wide price fluctuations as well as being susceptible to scientific, technical and industrial changes. This is illustrated by Belgian Congo exports rising from \$96 million in 1954 to \$110 million in 1955 and \$115 million in 1956, and Union of South Africa exports rising from \$91 million in 1954 to \$96 million in 1955 and \$111 million in 1956, while British West African exports went from \$112 million in 1954 down to \$88 million in 1955 then up to \$92

FARRELL LINES WINS SANITATION AWARD

FARRELL LINES, operators of direct freight and passenger service between the U. S. and Africa, was presented last month with the 1956 Certificate of Compliance from the U. S. Public Health Service for rigorously adhering to high sanitation standards throughout their entire fleet.

business notes

AFRICAN operations made a major contribution to Unilever's net profit in 1956 of \$134.4 million or 16 per cent above 1955's \$118.8 million, says "Africa Economic Newsletter." Unilever, comprised of the Netherlands Unilever NV, the British Unilever Limited and some 600 subsidiaries, had a record year, with total turnover reaching \$4.7 billion, the newsletter reported.

BASIC SURVEYS of the Blue Nile river basin in Ethiopia, for which there are no modern maps or aeronautical charts, have been started by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Cost is being shared by United States and Ethiopian governments.

INVESTMENT IN NIGERIA," third in a series of U. S. Commerce Department publications on investing in African countries, has been put in final form and is on its way to the printer. It should be available within several months.

ROBIN LINE has become a division of Moore-MacCormack Lines, Inc., following approval of the merger by the Federal Maritime Board. Robin operations from United States to South and East Africa will be strengthened by use of larger and faster vessels, officials said.

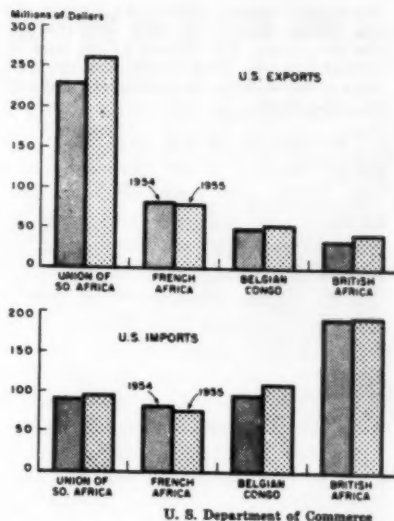
BELGIAN CONGO will make its first bond offering in the United States in late summer or early fall when it will seek approximately \$25 million to finance its 10-year economic development program.

REPORTS from Leopoldville are that engineers have found a methane gas deposit with heat-producing potential equal to 50 million metric tons of coal beneath Lake Kivu.

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION has been selected as the site for Dunlop Rubber Company's new tire factory to supply growing markets in the Central African Federation. The factory will make tires for cars, trucks, buses, tractors and cycles and will also do retreading.

APAPA, NIGERIA, has a new \$1,400,000 petroleum terminal owned by African Petroleum Terminals Ltd., a joint venture of Texas Petroleum Co. and Nigerian Petroleum. Described as the most modern in Nigeria, it is expected to be commissioned within a month.

MOST FREIGHT RATES between Nigeria and Ghana to continental Europe and United Kingdom were increased an additional 5 per cent in April, bringing total increases this year to 10 per cent, West African Shipping Lines Conference in London announced.



million last year. These three areas provide more than half the present exports to the United States, valuewise.

A good indication that businessmen and traders expect trade to increase can be found in the amount of construction of transportation facilities that have been announced. Liberia alone reports progress on three seaports. At Greenville the African Fruit Co. expects to complete a \$5 million program in 1958; a \$2 million causeway and wharf is planned for Harper; and preliminary work is under way on a large, deep-water port near the mouth of the St. John River in Bassa County by the Liberian-American-Swedish Minerals Co. Facilities in several other countries match this activity.

If the latest trade statistics with Africa show anything, it is that trade now and in the future will be ever-changing and fluid.

COMPANY TO OFFER STOCK PURCHASE PLAN TO AFRICAN WORKERS

A STOCK PURCHASE PLAN for both African and European employees is being worked out by Rhodesian Selection Trust Ltd. and Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd. Employees' contributions are to be matched up to fifty percent by the companies. Both companies are affiliated with American Metal Company, New York City.

Small Ducks and Big Puddles: Can Democracy Survive in Africa?

From the chapter "Africa: the Impact of the West" by Dr. Vernon McKay in Vera Micheles Dean's penetrating new study, *The Nature of the Non-Western World* (Mentor Books, New York, 284 pp., \$50). Reprinted with permission of the publishers; copyright 1957 Vera Micheles Dean.

"WHEN the colonial relationship comes to an end the problems of Africa will not be solved; they will only change their form. Within a few decades colonialism, like the slave trade, will probably be a thing of the past, the memory of which will be occasionally recalled but largely overshadowed by new problems—economic weaknesses, political instability, irredentist movements, and communist and other intrigues. Democracy is unlikely to work well in the new Africa because the conditions under which it thrives will not exist. It is true that the system of tribal chiefs-in-council prevailing in much of the old Africa had its democratic aspects. But the political units of the new Africa will not be composed of small groups of tribesmen who know and understand each other; they will be relatively large states comprising many peoples of different customs, traditions, and languages. And it seems unlikely, on the whole, that these peoples will have the economic prosperity or security which, in the light of history, seems an essential condition for the successful operation of democracy.

"The most that can be reasonably hoped for in the new Africa is political stability, and even this will be difficult to achieve. In the opportunity and excitement of new political activity, many a small duck in a big puddle will try to become a big duck in a small puddle, exploiting economic unrest and such factors as possible falls in the world market prices for Africa's

exports. Like Latin America, Africa will not have the traditions and conditions that produce a stable two-party system, and voters will probably support personalities rather than principles, a practice that can foster political instability. Since the colonial governments which now suppress or curtail communism in Africa will no longer exist, Soviet activities will no doubt grow in many areas. And the spread of Islam, which has already made considerably more converts than Christianity south of the Sahara, may begin to have political repercussions—particularly now that Egypt is asserting its role in Africa as leader of the Muslim world.

"Emerging Africa will pose many difficulties for the West in its efforts to retain African friendship and cooperation. Even if the colonial powers free colonial peoples rapidly and peacefully, Africa will still be affected by the suspicions and animosities that a relatively poor, black, and agricultural people can readily develop regarding a richer, white, and industrial people. There is hope, however, in the fact that Africans want material progress, which requires future cooperation with Europe and the United States. Another encouraging sign is the serious thinking about the future that is now under way among European and African leaders all over the continent. With patience and sympathy on both sides, mutual aid can be effective in overcoming some of Africa's problems. Under these circumstances, the best course for the West is to make every effort in the next decade to bring Africans nearer to European living and educational standards. If this effort is to succeed, however, Westerners will have to learn to regard Africans as people of a different rather than an inferior culture."

Recent Publications

A revised and virtually rewritten edition of Lord Hailey's monumental *AN AFRICAN SURVEY* (regarded as a "Bible" of African studies) soon will be in print. Lord Hailey's original study, the result of an extensive survey conducted in the mid-1930's, dealt with history, politics, economics, and social aspects of the continent and represented a major cooperative research effort among leading British institutions, public and private, and individual scholars.

IN DEFENCE OF COLONIES, prompted by Sir Alan Burns' reactions to serving as permanent UK representative on the Trusteeship Council of the UN for nine years, is a bitter attack on the UN critics of British colonial policy, the fiercest of whom, Burns says, represent governments that ignore their own severe racial and social evils. He feels UN members have done serious harm in the Council where progress towards self-government has taken a back seat to the politics of anti-colonialism, and the right to

petition has been made meaningless sport in tropical Africa. Sir Alan calls for a positive system of colonial trusteeship, without which colonial areas cannot progress towards self-government. (Allen and Unwin, 25s).

SHAKA ZULU is a vivid account of one of the greatest spectacles of South African history, the creation of a Zulu empire during the early nineteenth century. The author, E. A. Ritter, is a South African of German stock who has lived most of his life in Zululand. From legend and documents he has pieced together the fascinating story of Shaka, the Zulu military and political genius who until his assassination in 1828 built the tiny clan of Zulu into the greatest nation in southern Africa, one that it took a British army of some 50,000 to subdue 78 years later. Ritter's thorough, well written story gives the most penetrating insight into Shaka's empire yet written. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, \$5.00).

PASSIVE RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA, Leo Kuper's scholarly sociological analysis of the mid-twentieth century conflict, provides a remarkably clear picture of the race conflict in South Africa. The ideological background, the modern political techniques of the antagonists, and the specific conduct and effects of the Passive Resistance Campaign of 1952-1953, which united Africans, Indians and Coloureds (and a handful of Europeans) into a non-violent breaking of race-related laws, are here recorded in a study for those seriously interested in race relations in South Africa. (Yale University Press, 256 pages, \$3.50).

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